1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

582 woman; while the Ladáki girl is rarely married before
165 she is about seventeen or eighteen years of age. The advantage of this practice is best appreciated by a reference to the tables of longevity, which show that for every Balti woman who reaches the patriarchal age of threescore years and ten, there are no less than three Ladáki septagenarian ladies. That this difference is not due to the climate, or to particular customs which might affect both sexes, is further shown by the same tables; from which we learn that for every Balti man who reaches seventy years of age there are only two Ladákis. The difference must therefore be due to some cause which affects the women only; and this cause I presume to be the very early marriages of the Musalmani females.

II.—ORIGIN.

174 The Botis, or Bhotiyas,* are usually considered as a distinct race of people, chiefly I believe on account of their peculiar language. But this peculiarity must have been partly produced by their isolated position, and partly by the few wants of a poor people; as both of these causes must have operated against the introduction and naturalization of foreign words. Regarding their origin, therefore, nothing but a conjecture can be
144 hazarded. Judging from their language and features, which have much in common with those of the Chinese, the Botis must be pronounced to be an offshoot of the
177 great Mongolian race; and all differences, both physical

* *Bhotiya* is the Hindu name. The Tibetans call themselves *Botpa*, *Bod-pa*. The name is most probably derived from their profession of Buddhism, *Bauddha* being the designation of a Buddhist.

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among the ArGHóns[1] of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers only till she is married, after which she wears black. 291 851 563 585

[14]BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo" is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet. 333 [132]

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the carpenters are the brick-layers. 463

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among Buddhists and Arghons[1] is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife" 581 582 563

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for "bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usually from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony. 582 590 585

1 [Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gôlum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kâlôn. Hereditary Prime Minister, but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdár-ships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 1000

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognised ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

Cremation is ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or [illegible] cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the [illegible] in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

423

The following statement will show the distribution of property among different castes in Láhaul, as it stood at the revision of settlement:—

1	2	3	4	5	6
Castes.	Number of families.	Number of holdings or separate lots.	Number of shareholders.	Arable lands and hay fields.	Revenue demand.
Brahmans	29	70	121	203	154
Thákurs, including Doteas ...	29	80	75	404	263
Kanets and Tibetans ...	470	720	1,387	3,204	2,441
Dágis and other low castes ...	42	104	145	126	94
Lands attached to temples or institutions	...	69	69	121	64

Of the *jeules* or household allotments, which are described under the head of tenures, there are about 530, which are all held by men of the first three castes.

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The word used in Láhaul for *gotr* or clan, or rather for the corresponding idea, is *rus*, which means bone, and, as applied to a class, denotes those descended from a common ancestor. But there is as much license in Láhaul as in Kúlu with regard to intermarriage. The Thákurs take Kanet women as *srójat*, not as *lahri*; and though the sons of such women are not at first considered as pure Thákurs, yet in a few generations they become equal. These women are known as *chunma* or workers. Bráhmans also have Kanet women in their houses; and the sons of such women succeed as if legitimate. Their fathers will not eat from their hands; but they will smoke with them. They are known as *guru*, and marry Kanets, or women of mixed caste if they can find any. There are many *gurus* in Láhaul, but they call themselves Bráhmans. Where the father is not known, or where there is any doubt, illegitimate children follow the caste of their mothers. Bráhmans, Thákurs and Kanets will smoke together in Láhaul; and Bráhmans will drink water, tea or *lugri* from the hands of a Kanet, but will not even eat *sachi roti*. The Kanets say they will not smoke with a Dágí (*sepi*). No Kanéts wear the *janeo* in Láhaul. Thákurs will eat *pukki* or *sachi roti* from the hands of a Kanet; but not *kachi roti*, except those Thákurs who do not wear the *janeo*. It is said that Lohárs, Hensís, and Barárás intermarry and eat together. A Dágí (*sepi*) is considered above a Lohár. He will not eat with him, nor give him his daughter in marriage; but he will take a Lohár woman to wife. A Dágí and a Lohár will smoke together from the same pipe.

Intercourse between castes in Láhaul.

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[348]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

564 Chapter III, C.
565 Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.
184 Caste in Spiti.
[171]

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars, and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seems to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, and it is probable that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhaul as there is between Láhaul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

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"In Spiti there are three classes: Cháhzang, Lohár or Zobo, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhzang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhzang will marry a Cháhzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *keddi*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Cháhzang take a Lohár woman into his house, he will be considered [illegible] having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhzang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.

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"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindús also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

So Mr. Lyall writes:—

"All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas, who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

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The landowning class returned themselves in 1868 as Kanets, but in 1881 as Cháhzangs. This latter word merely means landowner, and is used generally for the people towards Tibet, Ladákh and Zánskár, in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti or Tibetan, just as *mlenchha* or *mowpa*, "the people that do not know," is used for Hindús.* These Kanets or Cháhzangs are pure Tibetans, and in 1868 constituted the whole population with the exception of 100 Lohárs and 46 Bedas. The Lohárs, whose Tibetan name is Zon, are skilful smiths; they make pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains. Some of their work is of quaint and intricate pattern. The articles are generally made to order, the smith receiving food and wages, and being supplied with the iron. These people are employed to beat drums at marriages and at festivals in the monasteries. They seldom hold land. The Bedas or Bethas correspond with the Hensis

* This is Mr. Anderson's translation of the word *mowpa*. But he gives it doubtfully; and Mr. Lyall has another, and probably a more correct explanation. General Cunningham considers that the word is a survival of the Mons, a (Dravidian?) tribe who once held these hills.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[P. 49]

NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPITI.[1]

BY H. CALVERT, I.C.S.

(Communicated by H. A. Rose.)

SPITI is a portion of the Kullú Subdivision of the Kángrá District of the Panjab on the Tibetan border. The following notes were made by Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904. 131

I.

Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is usually preceded by verbal inquiries through a relative or friend as to whether the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually takes with him a needle as an emblem of the well-being of the family making the enquiry.[2] 584 [556]

If the girl's father intimates his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father takes some *chang* (barley brew) and *khâta* (cloth) to him. If the girl's father drinks the *chang*, the betrothal is complete.

A *lama* is then consulted as to an auspicious day for the wedding, which may be six months or a year later. The boy's father has already referred to the *lama* to ascertain if the marriage is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals for the betrothal. 787 793

If, after betrothal and before marriage, the girl prefers another man, or is married by her parents to another man, the first *fiancé* is given a pony or a sum of money as compensation. 584

If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look after him and his property as foster-mother as well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

Marriage within the *gol* is prohibited, but interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins may marry. 582 [54]

A man may marry a woman of an inferior *gol*, but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of superior *gol*.

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[1] In Tibetan, sPiti.

[2] A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people who cannot write is a sign of the well-being of the sender.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

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It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

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If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

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Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

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Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

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A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

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The *lâmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lâma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

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An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lâmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

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Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwâ.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

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A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

sider Lahulis inferior. A Tibetan can take a Lahuli woman for his wife. But a Tibetan girl is not encouraged to marry a Lahuli man. The Lahuli man has indeed an unhappy position. The women on the south side of Rothang Pass do not covet him, partly because of his exploitation of his womenfolk, partly because there is a greater variety of food in Kulu than in Lahul. The women on the Tibetan side of the Himalayas do not want the Lahuli man because he is "inferior." Lahul is an in-between place—one from which men and women both want to escape. Perhaps that is one reason for its sparse population. Perhaps that is one reason why the men have such sad and plaintive voices when they sing their folk songs.

The one I best remember—one sung for us by five male villagers of Jispa, the next village beyond Kyelang—is about the girl Angmo.

Angmo used to live with her parents when a child.
When she grew up she fell in love with a boy.
They married happily.
After marriage the girl left Lahul
And went and lived with her husband,
Forsaking her parents and brothers and sisters.•

These Lahuli folk have an in-between status in another respect. While there are a few landed estates, the country is mostly populated by small farmers. The few Lahulis who own sheep and goats go north in the summer and south in the winter. The sheep one sees there in summer months come up from the Kangra for a few months' grazing in the high basins.

The rainfall in Lahul averages about twenty-three inches annually. May, June, and July are lush months. By August the ground is dried out and the grain is turning brown. By September the land is barren and dusty. October sees the passes clogged with snow. Lahul is then isolated until summer. November or

•See page 333, category 116

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The next day there is dancing again in front of a crowd of spectators, and in the afternoon or evening of this day the bride also comes out to dance. If the bridegroom is only a *magpa* (that is, brought to the bride's house), he has to dance with the *nyopas* all day long. On this day the feasting proceeds according to the aforesaid menu, which is the same in both houses, and in the evening the *brangyas* are divided up and distributed, those in the bride's house being made of flour. Early in the morning of this day the bride and bridegroom have to go to salute the parents of the former, and the following night is again spent in dancing and feasting. Throughout, the *nyopas* and relatives take food and drink to the wedding pair, who also are invited to meals by the cook, brewer, and keeper of the store-room respectively, and whose hospitality they must return, while they must not omit to give food and a *jau* (As 3½) per head to the *bedas* or bandsmen. This same evening the *nyopas* receive presents from the house, where dancing again takes place.

The following day is called the *nyendron* (relative feast) of the bridegroom. If the guests invited by the bride amount to one hundred, at the bridegroom's feast there will be one hundred and fifty visitors, such a proportion always being maintained.

The next day is called the *dronchung*, to which only the nearest relatives come, while a final day's feasting provides the servants with their turn, and so the festivities slowly wane.

By custom, nobody is permitted to marry the relatives of either parents. Only on rare occasions very distant connections are married, for instance, if they are removed three or four generations. This close relationship is called *Rtsibma*, indicating that they are of one rib, whereas the ordinary word for relation signifies "of one race." In ancient times nobody was allowed to marry a personal relation unless removed by eight generations.

If the happiness of the couple inaugurated with such

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the few countries remaining where it still obtains. Various economical reasons have been urged for this unusual procedure. The foremost is that it arose in order to keep down the population in a land where sustenance of the body is so hardly won from the dry soil, and the difficulty of transport necessitates any small community being self-contained. A second is that where the nomadic life prevailed, it was inconvenient to trail many women and children around. But a Ladaki himself will tell the questioner that the custom is of royal institution, and is for the stabilizing of property. If each of several sons possessed wife and family, how could they all be supported on one landhold? Certainly the component parts, after dividing into three or more shares, would not be sufficient for any one family. This, therefore, is a different way of stating the first reason alleged, and the present method of tenure is much more economical. The wife is brought for the elder son, and, as a matter of fact, only one more brother is likely to share the lady's favours. The third son is probably given to the Church, and any more pass into other families as *makpas*. The *makpa* leaves his father's home and gods, as we have seen, adopts those of the heiress to whom he is wedded, and, when either of his parents dies, he is not allowed even to touch the corpse, though he may officiate fully in the case of the dead bodies of his bride's parents. As our Buddhist serving-man put it: "My daughter is of no profit to my corpse, save to say 'Father, Father!' and weep, and throw a little barley behind me, but she must not touch me." So does the marriage tie really become firmer than the relation between parents and offspring. In upper Ladak, therefore, more than two brothers rarely share one wife, as it is impossible, practically, for more than that number to avoid quarrelling. If the eldest son approves of this second bridegroom, and thinks that they will be able to share their wife peaceably, the younger man is included in the wedding ceremony. The white head-dress is given to him also by the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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4. Kyin-go-pa (*K'hyi-mGo-pa*), "Dog-headed one".
5. Ödsal-lha-pa (*aOd-gSal-lHa-pa*), "Luminous, clear god one".
6. Dzes-pa-pa (*mDzes-pa-pa*), "Lovely one".
7. Nyishara-pa (*Nyishar-ra-pa*), "Sunrise one".
8. Yige-pa (*Yige-pa*), "Letter one".
9. Gyan-shing-pa (*rGyan-shing-pa*), "Betting wood one".
10. Trang-tug-pa (*Grang-t'hug-pa*), "Cold soup one".
11. Tarrawa-pa (*Tar-ra-ba-pa*), "Buttermilk one".
12. Sumpo-pa (*gSum-p'ho-pa*), "Thrice male one".
13. Langtso-rü-pa (*Lang-ts'ho-rus-pa*), "Adolescent clan one".
14. Kyungo-pa (*K'hyung-mGo-pa*), "*Garuda* headed one" (the Garuda is the Hindu mythical bird).
15. Jamshar-pa (*aJam-shar-pa*), "Mild shining one".
16. Leh-pa (*sLa-pa*), "Man from Leh" (in Ladak).

Of these, numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 14 and 16 of course, are also to be found in Ladak, and the Lahuli clans of the same name are related to those in the neighbouring area of Kashmir.

Clan exogamy was the rule, the Wazir told me, and there were very few even today who dared to transgress this injunction. There had been a marriage within the Lönchen-pa clan, it seemed, but its members had found it very difficult to live down; they had been held up as objects of ridicule in the whole of Lahul ever since.

7. OTHER RELEVANT POINTS INVESTIGATED

Being keen to investigate the psychology of polyandrous people, I also sought, while in Lahul, to gather data which appeared to me could have a bearing on the psychological structure of the individuals involved. Consequently I enquired from the Thakur about initiation ceremonies and paid a number of visits to medical men to question them on nervous ailments in their practices.

Thakur Partap Chand told me that when a son was born to a family, a special ceremony took place which my notes call phonetically *Gotsu* (probably *mGo-aDzug*, "beginning") in Tibetan. It should be remembered that at the time, I as yet knew no Tibetan and was forced to take down names and words as they appeared to sound to me – a process highly unreliable in that language as differences of meaning often depend on spelling and not on pronunciation. When the boy is not yet twelve months old, on the day of the Tibetan New Year (usually in February), he is strapped onto his mother's back and taken up to the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak although 582 611 614 [184]

(there exist patrilineal clans here, as in Lahul, called *p'ha-spun* (*P'ha-sPun*), of which I shall speak later), dual descent is taken into consideration in what concerns degrees of marriage prohibition. Thus one can never marry within the paternal clan, and only a blood relative of one's mother beyond the seventh degree of relationship. In the poorer classes it is said that such a prohibition is only observed up to the fifth degree.

The wedding ceremonies of the well-to-do Ladaki families are most elaborate and spectacular. In more modest households, however, *chang* is simply offered three or four times to the bride's relatives after *Tri-chang* in what is called *Bsu-chang* (*bSu-ch'hang*) or "taking-home-*chang*", and on the day fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom's (eldest) father, *azhang* or maternal uncle and some of the members of his *p'ha-spun* escort the girl to his house and the main ceremony follows. This is similar to the equivalent ceremony among the wealthier people, which I now propose to describe in greater detail. 585

We should first distinguish between *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, and since the former of the two is the most elaborate, I shall take it first. Before the commencement of the principal ceremonies, and after the formalities following upon the *Go-ras* ritual have taken place, a feast called *Drags-chang* (*Drags-ch'hang*) or "very much *chang*" is given to the bride's parents by their relatives. They bring *tsampa*, *chang*, sheep and goat carcasses, tea, butter, rice and cash to help them with the occasion. The same kind of feast is held in the bridegroom's house for his (or their) parents by the latters' relatives.

Then the first phase of the wedding festivities begins. On the date decided upon, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house. It consists of his father, his *azhang*, members of his *p'ha-spun*, fifteen to twenty in number. It never includes the boy himself, who stays at home and waits. Towards the close of day, all these people will set out accompanied by a dancing party, gorgeously dressed, of five to nine *Nya-opas* (*gNya-bo-pa*) or "witnesses". These, chosen among the friends and companions of the bridegroom, are designated by astrology; their principal qualification is that they know the appropriate dance steps and songs to be sung. They are led by a *Nya-pön* (*gNya-dPon*) or "chief witness". [535] [198]

As they proceed towards the bride's house, they are offered *chang* and *tsampa* on the way by anyone who cares to come along from the village. They take these offerings in their hands as blessings of good luck, and in return pay out cash in small coins. Some distance from

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance.

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible.

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer.

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action.

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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595 614 587 842 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 765 783 846 [264] [789] Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 846 264 783 789 [241] During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with members of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irrigating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lhabSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 783 765 [264] Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies, the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

1; Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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142 Ladākhīs, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal, their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
[221] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they move with them whither the advancing season promises better pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the Ladākhīs, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lamb-skin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule, the Chāmpās and Ladākhīs do not intermarry. The
56 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADĀKH.

565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what road they first came from their own country I know not, but now they reach the districts of Zānskār and Rupshu from, strange to say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
365 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

793 361 reason for the existence of so many monasteries always inhabited and one to each town or village of reasonable size.

134 241 Ladakh is a land of extreme barrenness. If the population were permitted to increase the people would starve, for not only are they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than are already there, but with communications so bad, little can be 595 imported. In order to retain the population at its present level, since they are unable to live for long in other climates after all their lives breathing the rarer air of the mountains, as in Tibet, polyandry has become the custom of the land, and has been so from time immemorial, having proved a powerful check on the population, the greater percentage of which are women.

The system of polyandry is confined to brothers, each family having but one wife, and although the usual number of husbands is three, four or even five are not unknown. Occasionally one hears of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of the wife, and rather than lose their wife, the husbands have to agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account can a family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate 428 younger brothers in a large one have to suffer. The eldest son inherits the family estate as soon as he marries; it is his duty then to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters, in addition to which he has to support those brothers who share his wife. This system of inheritance keeps the property intact, for there is never more than one heir and the patrimony is never divided.

428 If there is no son, then the property of the family is inherited 582 by the daughter who is free to marry any man she wishes, even 595 to have an experimental marriage with a younger son—this is done by a State-recognised religious ceremony. And she can divorce him after giving him a small present, say a sheep, if after a few days' trial he does not come up to her expectations. Besides all this she may choose several husbands if she so desires, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who dare not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the power an heiress has in her hands and how carefully the hus- 586 band has to conduct himself that he is not dismissed. The husband of an heiress is called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, is unable to leave his heiress wife unless he can prove the grossest

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-